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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY S/S:JPMOFFAT:JLH

APPROVED BY S/S-MR. MOFFAT

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O 262155Z NOV 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NY IMMEDIATE

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FOLLOWING REPEAT CAIRO 11957 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 25 NOV

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S E C R E T CAIRO 11957

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FOR THE SECRETARY FRTM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

HZTAGS: PFOR EG IS SY

SUBJECT: WALDHEIM'S COMMENTS ON MEETINGS WITH
SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS

SUMMARY: ACCORDING WALDHEIM, SYRIANS AGAIN REJECTED
ANY RESUMPTION OF STEP BY STEP APPROACH AND PREPARATORY
CONFERENCE IDEA SO LONG AS LATTER EXCLUDES PLO.

WHILE SYRIANS WOULD LIKE TO RENEW UNDOF MANDATE,
THEY WANT TO LINK IT WITH UNSC DEBATE MODIFYING
RESOLUTION 242. WHEN TOLD ANY SUCH RESOLUTION WOULD
ASSUREDLY BE VETOED, SYRIANS INDICATED INDIFFERENCE
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AND SUGGESTED SUCH USG VETO WOULD REFUTE EGYPTIAN

CONTENTION SINAI II HAS BENEFITED ARABS. ISRAELIS
TOTALLY OPPOSED TO SYRIAN APPROACH AND FORMALLY
ASKED FOR SIX MONTH EXTENSION OF UNDOF. WALDHEIM
RETURNS TO SYRIA TOMORROW FOR SECOND ROUND OF TALKS.
HE IS TOYING WITH IDEA OF TRYING TO SEPARATE UNDOF
MANDATE RENEWAL AND SYRIAN INSISTENCE ON UNSC DEBATE
WHERE PLO WOULD BE HEARD AND NEW RESOLUTION CHANGING
242 WOULD BE CONSIDERED. IF SYRIANS COULD BE TOLD
UNSC MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE EARLY NEXT YEAR TO
CONSIDER THEIR SUBSTANTIVE IDEAS, WALDHEIM BELIEVES THEY MIGHT
BE WILLING TO EXTEND UNDOF MANDATE NOW ROUTINELY. THIS WOULD ALSO
OFFER BREATHING PERIOD DURING WHICH PROBLEM COULD
BE FURTHER CONSIDERED. WALDHEIM WOULD WELCOME
YOUR REACTION OR ANY OTHER THOUGHTS YOU MAY HAVE ON HOW
TO PROCEED. MURPHY CAN CONTACT HIM AT DAMASCUS
GUEST HOUSE IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL THERE AT
1700 LOCAL TOMMORROW. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG WALDHEIM, WHO ARRIVED IN CAIRO THIS MORNING,
ASKED ME TO COME BY LATE THIS AFTERNOON. HE WANTED
THE FOLLOWING ORAL REPORT ON HIS TALKS WITH THE
SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS SENT TO YOU, APOLOGIZING THAT
HE COULD NOT SEND THE CUSTOMARY PERSONAL MESSAGE
SINCE HE LACKS THE TECHNICAL FACILITIES HERE TO DO
SO. HE SPOKE WITHOUT NOTES. GUYER WAS ALSO PRESENT.

2. WALDHEIM FIRST
RECALLED THAT HE HAD MET WITH YOU
PRIOR TO HIS MIDDLE EAST TRIP AND THAT YOU HAD
ENDORSED IT. YOU HAD REQUESTED THAT HE
SOUND OUT THE SYRIANS ON REVERTING TO THE STEP BY

STEP APPROACH IN WHICH CASE YOU REMAINED WILLING TO
WORK FOR A SECOND DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT ON GOLAN
OR, FAILING THIS, ON THE IDEA OF AN INFORMAL PREPARATORY
CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER AGENDA, PARTICIPANTS ETC. FOR
A SUBSEQUENT GENEVA CONFERENCE. IN SEVERAL LONG
MEETINGS WITH ASAD AND, SEPARATELY, WITH KHADDAM, HE HAD
DONE SO. SYRIAN REACTION WAS NEGATIVE ON BOTH IDEAS.
ON THE FIRST, ASAD HAD SAID HE HAD ALREADY TOLD
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MURPHY THAT HE NO LONGER REGARDS THE STEP BY STEP
APPROACH AS VIABLE. WHEN WALDHEIM BROACHED THE
PREPARATORY CONFERENCE IDEA, ASAD IMMEDIATELY ASKED
WHETHER THE PLO WOULD BE INVITED TO ATTEND. WALDHEIM
SAID THIS WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE AND ASAD THEREUPON
REJECTED THE IDEA AS UNSATISFACTORY. ASAD STRESSED
THAT SYRIA INSISTS ON MOVING IN TANDEM WITH THE PLO.

3. ASAD THEN MADE CLEAR HIS BELIEF THAT THE UNSC SHOULD BECOME THE FORUM FOR PEACE TALKS AND THAT UN RESOLUTION 242 NEEDS TO BE CHANGED. ASAD ADDED HE IS WILLING TO EXTEND UNDOF MANDATE FOR SIX MONTHS, BUT WANTS TO LINK THIS WITH A RESOLUTION CHANGING 242. SOMETHING CONCRETE MUST HAPPEN IN THESE SIX MONTHS. IN HIS VIEW, UNSC SHOULD PASS A NEW RESOLUTION WHICH MIGHT CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) UNSC WOULD BECOME THE FORUM FOR ALL FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM; (B) THE NATIONAL RPT NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS MUST BE RECOGNIZED; (C) UNSC SHOULD SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM "THE ARAB TERRITORIES" OCCUPIED IN 1967; (D) PLO SHOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN UNSC DEBATE; (E) UNSC SHOULD ESTABLISH THE REQUIREMENTS AND PREREQUISITES OF PEACE IN THE AREA (WALDHEIM INTERJECTED HE DID NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THIS IS INTENDED TO MEAN); (F) UNSC SHOULD COMPLETE ITS WORK WITHIN SIX MONTHS; (G) EXTENSION OF UNDOF MANDATE FOR SIX MONTHS.

4. WALDHEIM NOTED SYRIANS HAD DONE THEIR HOMEWORK. ASAD WAS AWARE THAT OBTAINING A HEARING FOR THE PLO IS A PROCEDURAL MATTER NOT SUBJECT TO THE VETO. WALDHEIM SAID HE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SYRIANS THAT THIS APPROACH WAS NOT VIABLE. UN RESOLUTION 242 HAD BEEN OBTAINED AFTER MUCH DIFFICULTY AND IS A CAREFULLY BALANCED EFFORT. USG AND PROBABLY OTHERS WOULD VETO ANY NEW SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION ALONG LINES PROPOSED BY ASAD. ASAD RESPONDED HE DID NOT CARE IF USG DOES SO. SUCH ACTION BY USG WOULD SHOW THAT SINAI II DID NOT FURTHER ARAB INTERESTS AS EGYPTIANS CLAIM.

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(WALDHEIM EXPRESSED PERSONAL VIEW THAT, APART FROM WANTING TO POSE AS CHAMPION OF PLO, ONE OF MAIN SYRIAN OBJECTIVES IS TO UNDERCUT SINAI II).

5. GUYER SUGGESTED THERE IS A LINKAGE BETWEEN SYRIAN DESIRE FOR MIDDLE EAST DEBATE AND PERTINENT SYRIAN PROPOSED UNGA DRAFT RESOLUTION THAT HAS JUST SURFACED AND OBJECTIVES CITED ABOVE. IN HIS VIEW, SYRIANS WANT TO OBTAIN A UNGA RESOLUTION WHICH CAN BE USED TO PRESSURE UNSC TO MODIFY UN RESOLUTION 242. FAHMY, WHO HAD SEEN SYRIAN DRAFT, HAD ACKNOWLEDGED IT WAS A SHORTSIGHTED TACTIC, BUT SAID GOE HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SUPPORT THAT DRAFT RESOLUTION. GOE CANNOT APPEAR LESS INTERESTED IN THE PALESTINIANS THAN THE SYRIANS.

6. WALDHEIM RECOUNTED HE HAD THEN GONE TO ISRAEL AND MET WITH RABIN, ALLON AND PERES. HE HAD RELATED SYRIAN POSITION. ISRAELIS HAD BEEN COMPLETELY NEGATIVE. THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY OF SYRIAN PROPOSALS AND FORMALLY TOLD WALDHEIM THAT GOI WANTED A SIX MONTH RENEWAL OF UNDOF.

7. SINCE HIS MEETINGS WITH SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS, WALDHEIM HAS BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT MIGHT BE DONE. HE GOES TO LEBANON TOMORROW AND IS THEN SCHEDULED TO RETURN TO SYRIA 1700 LOCAL TIME. HE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT RIGID SYRIAN POSITION IS BASICALLY TACTICAL. HE THINKS THEY WANT A RENEWAL OF UNDOF MANDATE, BUT ARE LOOKING FOR A FACE SAVING WAY OF DOING SO. HERE WALDHEIM AGAIN STRESSED HE HAD REPEATEDLY URGED THE TWO APPROACHES SUGGESTED BY YOU, BUT HAD ALWAYS BEEN TURNED DOWN. IF THESE APPROACHES ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE AND IF THE SYRIANS CONTINUE TO INSIST ON THEIR PROPOSED APPROACH EVEN AFTER HEARING THE NEGATIVE ISRAELI REACTION, SOME WAY HAS TO BE FOUND OUT OF THIS DILEMMA. SYRIANS MUST SOMEHOW BE CONVINCED THEY SHOULD RENEW THE UNDOF MANDATE FOR SIX MONTHS IN THE USUAL WAY. IN THINKING ABOUT HOW TO DO SO, WALDHEIM HAS COME UP WITH THE IDEA OF SEPARATING THE CONCEPT OF A UNSC DEBATE FROM THE MATTER OF THE UNDOF RENEWAL
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QUESTION. WALDHEIM INTENDS TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE SYRIANS TO DO SO. IF THEY CONTINUE TO INSIST ON A UNSC MEETING, HE IS TOYING WITH THE IDEA OF SUGGESTING SUCH A SC MEETING MIGHT TAKE PLACE EARLY NEXT YEAR TO DEAL WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION. IF ACCEPTED, UNDOF RENEWAL COULD THEN TAKE PLACE IN THE CUSTOMARY, ROUTINE RESOLUTION. WALDHEIM THOUGHT THE SYRIANS WOULD WANT SOME ASSURANCE THAT SUCH A UNSC MEETING WILL INDEED TAKE PLACE. HE THINKS THAT PERHAPS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNSC COULD, DURING DISCUSSION OF THE UNDOF RESOLUTION, MAKE A BRIEF STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT IT IS THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE UNSC TO CONVENE SUCH A MEETING EARLY NEXT YEAR. ALTHOUGH NOTHING SPECIFIC WOULD BE STATED, THE SYRIANS WOULD KNOW THEY WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO GET THE PLO HERE. SUCH A PROPOSAL COULD BE MADE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT NO SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION WILL COME OUT OF ANY UNSC MEETING. CONCEIVABLY, TOO, SUCH A UNSC MEETING COULD DECIDE, AFTER LENGTHY DEBATE, TO SET UP THE DESIRED PREPARATORY CONFERENCE. WALDHEIM SAID THIS IS THE ONLY THOUGHT THAT OCCURS TO HIM TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. HE INTENDS TO

TRY IT OUT ON THE SYRIANS TOMORROW. IF YOU
HAVE ANY REACTION OR ANY OTHER THOUGHTS ON HOW TO PROCEED
THAT YOU WOULD LIKE HIM TO HAVE BEFORE HE MEETS WITH ASAD,
HE SUGGESTED THESE MIGHT BE SENT TO MURPHY WHO CAN CONTACT HIM
AT THE GUEST HOUSE IN DAMASCUS IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL
THERE TOMORROW.

8. WALDHEIM HAD ALSO SCHEDULED A MEETING WITH THE
SOVIET AMBASSADOR IMMEDIATELY AFTER I LEFT TO GIVE
HIM A SIMILAR REPORT. HE INTENDS TO URGE THE
SOVIETS PRESS THE SYRIANS TO RENEW UNDOF.

9. YOU MAY WISH TO PASS THIS MESSAGE TO DAMASCUS AND USUN.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-C, NEGOTIATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MEETING REPORTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, PEACE TALKS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE280376
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JPMOFFAT:JLH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N750006-0015
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751110/aaaaaifk.tel
Line Count: 239
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 JUN 2003 by WorrelSW>; APPROVED <04 NOV 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WALDHEIM'S COMMENTS ON MEETINGS WITH SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS
TAGS: PFOR, EG, IS, SY, UNSC, PLO, UNDOF, (WALDHEIM, KURT), (ASAD, HAFIZ)
To: USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006